1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his govern-
173 ment connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

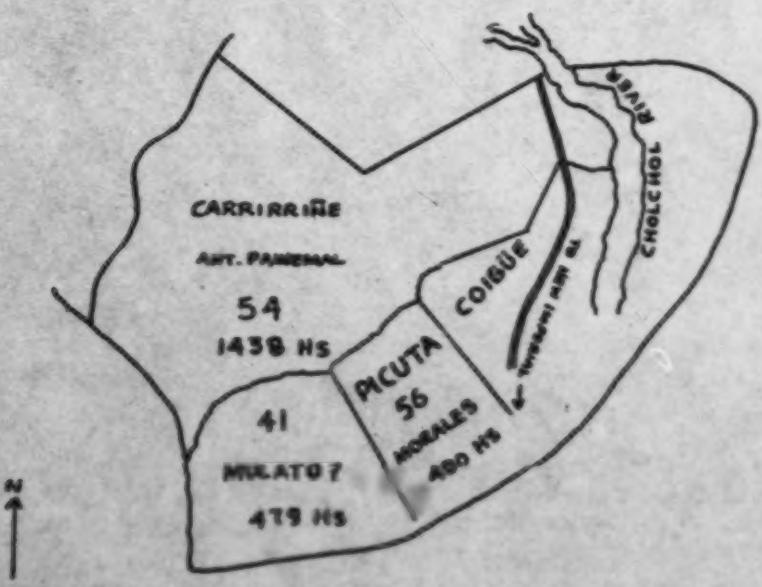

FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarriñe. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarriñe residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarriñe's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Transbuillín.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *fiñatew* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1885, p. 185.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *kuce meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *koko purun*. Latcham said that *kuce meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Marquilef, 1924, pp. 187 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey. 525 526 526

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations. [784 525]

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320-23) and Manquilef (1954, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

1: Titiev C-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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starts, the ball is placed in a slight depression exactly at mid-field. The opposing centers face each other with sticks crossed over the ball, and at a shouted signal of "Ya!" each tries to hit the ball toward the opponent's goal. Thereafter, the progress of the game consists of trying to drive the ball over the end of the field defended by the enemy without letting it cross either side line. Defenders, of course, strive to prevent this, chiefly by forcing the ball outside the playing area. As soon as the ball goes out of bounds play stops, and the game commences again with a new face-off at mid-field. There is little organized team play, and little specialization of functions (Pl. XV, Fig. 2). Once the ball is in play, everyone shifts from offense to defense as the situation demands. No one is especially designated to guard goal, and when a long hit is made everyone runs after the ball, the offensive team trying to keep it in bounds until it crosses the goal line, and the defensive side struggling to knock it out of bounds. Blocking and tripping are permitted, and there is no such thing as illegal use of hands, but no point is scored if the ball is kicked or thrown across the goal line. Whenever the ball is improperly handled, or if a man is badly hurt, play is stopped and a face-off takes place in the center of the field.

Every little boy, in ancient times, was given a stick and taught to play. Under the supervision of an older man, often a *lokko*, youngsters were organized into teams and encouraged to compete. As they grew older they formed groups, each of which had its own captain. To summon his team the captain sounded his *kullkull*, the Araucanian equivalent of an army bugle, which was formerly used also to assemble warriors or to sound warning of an enemy raid.

When *chueca* was played avowedly as a training exercise for war, games lasted for long periods of time, because neither team could win unless the score was four to zero. Each goal made by an opponent cancelled a point for the other side, somewhat on the order of deuce in tennis. Hence it often happened that two teams struggled for the better part of a day before either side won.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturing of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[16] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Chokchol in [541] conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they [756] pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[17]

[16] There is a possibility that *lekhu* formerly selected team captains.
[17] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 229–30.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kulkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarrile's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[10] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarrile's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

Sillatun ceremonies[11]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *sillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 776 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *dunachen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *dunachen*, or *kimel* ("good") *dunachen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[10] See Figure 9, the Huaiquin-Paineo field near house No. 15.

[11] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 740–45. A good account by a native is given in Manquilef, 1911, pp. 271–90.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug
at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a
small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to
796 beat with drumsticks on the *kul-truñ*, and three performers
535 staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a
somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers,
barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men
moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while
the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an in-
formal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old
man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men
had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across
the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they
could be spread or brought together by arm movements to
suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the
ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclock-
wise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured
and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the
other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads,
and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the
leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist,
stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised
his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed
loudly in appreciation of his antics.[20]

231 While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more
526 than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the
796 Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks
492 of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around
the entire sacred area.[21] Whenever they came abreast of the
altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they
charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted,
bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would
remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[20] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[21] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kalawal*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing chueca in the schoolyard at Cautínchu. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

PLATE XV

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FIG. 1. The family of Segundo Painao at Carrerillo, in front of a ramada, by the rules in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Painao's brother.

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FIG. 2. Hedge gate at Carrerillo. Plants and sprouts from smaller shrubs. Remote Celtic sounds full of sound, which has been spread wide open.

[end plate 15]

3:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawik was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

FIGURE 61.—Mapuche hockey sticks and ball. (After Mansfeld, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (lechuca, ulin, palinon) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of Chusquea sp., curved at the end (fig. 61). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1941, pp. 189-193.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (Ilique, lûqn, lûq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kachu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

[524]

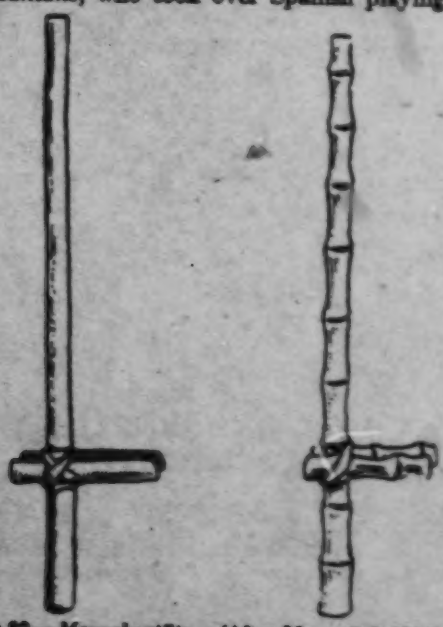

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1883, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:582, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thentichue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:220), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:642; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Aleuts boy making a football of cockroaches: 1, This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cockroaches on skin. 2, Dampening the cockroaches with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3, The beginning of the ball. 4, The ball being built up by slipping the strand of cockroaches under and through the tightened loops of the ball.

[p. 76(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making a fabel (continued): 3, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the embryo through the hole; 4, Pushing the end of a small length of the embryo to which the fabelling form is fixed, through the hole; 5, The completed fabel; 6, Fabels in Rosario.

[p. 76(6)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Competitive games of adults: 1, 2. The competitive game of chueca being played in the Province of Cautín. (Pictures were purchased in Temuco.) 3. Coloripe men practicing futbol. 4. A rest period during the game.

[P 92 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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524 Another competitive game played with tops is called juego al gallo (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, sides alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy in dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to count. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called jugar de los bochitas (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made ollas"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 1½ meters apart, by a boy rotating on his heel. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a handstretch of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

526 Alepín schoolboys 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of fútbol as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the green to relax.

524 Until recently, boys in Alepín area played a competitive game with quoits known as rai hueda; today, it is generally played only by young men and older ones, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quoits were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." 524
Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapezoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ¼ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, nonkompetitive and tenacious, called pilota de cuhayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepín area. A ball of cuhayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it together, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fonda young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cuhayuyo. 526

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then sat busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hockey sticks (weno) and balls (pell) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pullinque played against one from Carillanque in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magicoreligious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of fútbol is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is no umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

526 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chuga. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, sorsal, tordo, diuca, pitio, and the trugle. The children know that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The trugle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the trugle announces his coming. Those that hear the trugle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The trugle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The trugle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him tenpuel."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The sorsal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitio sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only cows. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls himself, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The chuncy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it cuki—has a sensible cry; its cry is called trabendido.

SWIMMING, SUMMERTIME SPORTS, CONDITIONS

● §26 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 79).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *a*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast. 526 492 [868]

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to handle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "These foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 10 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a bluestick on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he said with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots. 526

HEALTH

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF BAD HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF BAD HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chuchuhuil, a mythical bird. "The cries are heard by 787

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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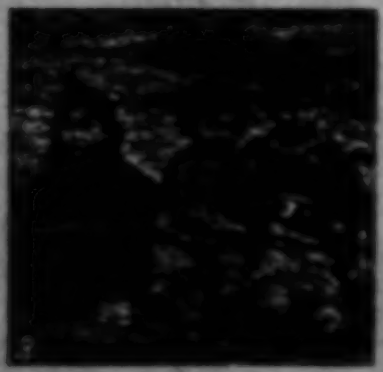

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Araucanian children: 1. Bringing bundles of water from the spring (Pilqui). 2. Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3. Three children produced from a map to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4. "Who are you?" (Pilqui). 5. "I am winding the skein" (Pilqui).

[p. 268(c)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took bottons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Marichu, marichu, marichu" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the bottons, with some force, upon the throw. The player who said is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of horseman clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (pulin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lolilip in all areas except Mallen, where it is called pulinn. 526 [34]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or leaves, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 527 528

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 90-year-old Indian, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 6a, c) for his 4-year-old son, and also constructed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Kobapen, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 6g, *e*). 957 231

SWIMMING, BOREBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 [illegible] 70 856

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were brought bed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And so raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than ten years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than ten years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn. "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles criss-crossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kobapen: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (*hechiceros*) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and medicine know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Old, enemyp whom we were sure was 757

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1951-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the conversion system brought the Mapuche into blocks of congregations, consolidated communities in the indigenous sense has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural form of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *lawen*, even those held for similar purposes. Field hockey matches (*palihuen*), or *minga*-type labor parties, or the recent innovation, *wenu*, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *nillatun* or *ngen*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in social instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interpersonal contacts of a fairly wide range, there are boundary. The *wenu* (secular) draw participants and spectators from a number of communities, but they are qualitatively different from *nillatun* and *ngen*. While there are ritual overtones to *palihuen* and *minga*, the substance of the relationships is not clearly considered. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tals, they are able to contribute to the ceremony. Their most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 522
munication, not in terms of social composition. Secular kinship 476
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything,
similar bonds involve some heterogeneous groups than ever
before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes
in work patterns, urbanization, rapid de-crops, and a trend toward
"nuclearization" (a complete statement) kinship.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 996
funeral rites. The great diffuse ceremony and the compelling 571
core observances serve to unite the Mapuche before deceased 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composi-
tion of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational
boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the limited
feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in
sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) gen-
eral of unrelated households and without blood or marriage
ties, and endure family friendships rooted in long contact and
local residence. In this sense, both diffuse and core ce-
remonial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of
obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among
congregation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even
though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties embedded
in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites Here

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that witchcraft causes death, usually at the
behest of a kalku. This explanation covers all situations, accident-
al death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning,
etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the force
of evil operates and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad
death" (*wesa Fan*) usually refers to the fact that a person died
violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of
modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional
beliefs in supernatural causation. The sponge and the aspirin 000

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great
126 match being on between the two tribes. The course was
525 about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mondils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mondil tent and dance.

T Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and
137 the women used to start early in the morning and come back
222 towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were
352 the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Engel-kalk, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Los Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 8th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two tolldes marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chilano. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Gennino, and pay a visit to Chocoque, and the much-praised

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

During our stay (until the 25th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chaequis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Tolok, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Feyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaite, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The cacique having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Cuaiaiv, the chaequis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Cuaiaiv. After this function, with my apartment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a month, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-east